COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"The parliament was dissolved; it was disgraced, punished, and put to death, because it was not to be "bent to the will of the ministry."——BURKE upon the subject of the Dissolution in 1784.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.——The words taken for my motto were expressive of the sentiments of all those political men, whose views were defeated by the dissolution of 1784, a dissolution, which, as the reader will well remember, was adopted for the express and avowed purpose of gaining Mr. Pitt a majority in the House of Commons, and of keeping in place a ministry, in whom that House had unequivocally proved, that they had no confidence. Those who wish to refresh their memories with respect to the constitutional arguments, which were opposed to such a measure, adopted from such motives, should refer to the celebrated resolutions, drawn up by Mr. Burke, and now standing upon the Journal of the House, as a protest against that dissolution. ——The same motive, though not to the same extent, has evidently produced the present dissolution; and, there is reason to believe, that Mr. Fox, if he had lived, would never have, from such a motive at least, given it his approbation; for, when the strength of the opposition was perceived upon the question of a monument to the memory of Pitt, and when the consequent necessity of a dissolution was pointed out to him, I am nearly able positively to assert, that he, calling to his aid the arguments which he himself had used in 1784, firmly protested against a dissolution for a purpose similar to that which he had then so strongly reprobated.——It is said, too, but with what degree of accuracy I will not pretend to aver, that several persons in the present cabinet were opposed to a dissolution at this time; and, indeed, when we consider, that Mr. Windham has hitherto composed part of that cabinet, it is hard to conceive that there should not have been one voice, at least, against it. That the measure has originated with the Grenvilles there can, I think, be little doubt; nor do I think that the motive ascribed to them by Mr. Paull, whose letter the reader will presently peruse, was one of the least weight in producing it.——By a dissolution of parliament, all the proceedings hitherto had, in the case of Lord Wellesley, do, as Mr. Paull has observed, at once sink into nothing. The whole of the case, if again agitated, must be agitated entirely *anew!* All the papers must be again called for, and granted, and there must, in order to bring the proceedings again to the state, in which they were left at the close of the last session, be found, somewhere, intelligence, courage, and perseverance equal to those so conspicuous in the conduct of Mr. Paull, who, as the reader will perceive from his letter at the close of this Summary, it is to be feared will not be able to obtain a seat in the new parliament, and upon the causes of whose exclusion no reader will stand in need of any comment from me.——In my last letter to the Electors of Westminster, I observed, that, what Mr. Sheridan's *reward* was to be, for having betrayed them into the hands of the Lord, I could not pretend to say, but that, I was sure, that, be the reward whatever it might, they would have to contribute towards it. It now appears, that the whole of the reward, in the first instance, at least, will come from them; for, it seems, that he is to be *one* of their members; that he, who swore to them, with tears in his eyes, that it was not a *mere seat* for Westminster that he should covet, but the honour of being *the successor of Mr. Fox*; that he might have been *a member* for Westminster long ago, but that he would never desert the Electors of Stafford for any body of Electors in the world, it being solely the honour of succeeding Mr. Fox that he was anxious to obtain, and, that not being attainable, no other consideration in the world would induce him to desert his old and fast friends, the Electors of Stafford. Now, however, before one single moon has gone by, he has the modesty to offer himself to the Electors of Westminster, and *not as the successor of Mr. Fox*, that honour having been, by this very same Mr. Sheridan, ceded to a Lord just turned his one and twentieth year! Well does he say, "I will make no professions;" for, is there, in all the king's dominions, one man who is able to read, who will ever again listen, but as to the chattering of a Mountebank, to any professions that he shall make? Begging leave to refer the reader to a most delightful letter, in a subsequent page

upon the subject of this gentleman's conduct, I have only to add, with respect to him, that it must now be clear to every man of common understanding, that, it was a promise of Treasury support upon this occasion, which was then known, at the Treasury. to be approaching; that it was upon this promise, joined to the evident danger of losing his lucrative places, that he surrendered the sheep-like Electors of Westminster into the hands of Lord Percy. They are now in excellent hands indeed. Let them bleat, and bleat again, when their fleeces are stripped from their backs!——In Hampshire, as every where else, in case of a contest, the suddenness of the dissolution must prove favourable to the ministerial candidates; because, in one way or another, they must have been apprized sooner than their opponents, of the intention of the ministry in this respect. The opponent candidates and their friends were, as much as possible, kept in the dark, to do which most effectually, the address of Mr. Windham to the Electors of Norfolk, contributed more than any other cause, and, indeed, than all other causes put together. Upon reading that address, I, for my own part, was fully convinced, that no dissolution, at an early period, was intended; and, I do sincerely believe, that, at the time when the address was written, Mr. Windham did not expect a speedy dissolution; for, I must see something in him that I never yet have seen, before I can, for one moment, entertain the idea, that he would put his hand to and promulgate any thing intended to deceive.——As to the general consequences of any attempts that shall be made to deprive us of the last remains of those blessings for which our fathers so successfully contended, it is as useless as it is unmanly, to waste one self in moralizing lamentations. Feelings of contempt, or of indignation, are those which ought to animate our breasts. Despair should never, for an hour, be given way to. We ought to wait with patient resolution for the day, when events shall enable us to exert ourselves effectually for the preservation of our freedom and the just rights and powers of the crown; but, in the meanwhile, it is contemptible to be seen fretting and whining away our existence, like the senseless bird, which, having nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand times unavailingly pecked and scratched against the cause of its slavery, makes the millionth peck in just the same manner, and with as little effect and as little resentment, as it made the first.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——The manifesto of Prussia, and the *publication* (for it has no diplomatic name) of England have now appeared. As to the former, it contains a pretty full enumeration of the encroachments of France, and of the submissions of other powers; but, as the Morning Chronicle has well observed, "the things are neither rich nor rare," though one may naturally enough be astonished to meet with them in a Prussian manifesto. His Prussian Majesty has made an appeal to his people and to the world; but, has he not made it a little too late? It has been a hundred times, and, by a hundred different writers, predicted, that Prussia was bent upon the honorable distinction of being *swallowed last*; but, I cannot refrain from reminding the editor of the Morning Chronicle, who is now ridiculing, and with much reason, the Prussians for waiting to be attacked, that he, above all men living, should be moderate in his censure upon that score, having, from the time of the Duke of Brunswick's retreat to almost the present time, extolled the *wisdom* of the Prussian monarch's *pacific* conduct.——The *Declaration* (for we must give it some name) of England, says very little that we did not anticipate. We learn, indeed, that Napoleon was willing to cause Hanover to be ceded back to its elector; and, well he might, when he knew that he was thereby securely re-fixing a mill-stone about the neck of England, and was, besides, making a deduction from the means of Prussia, to annihilate whom he appears to have resolved. Any thing further than this, the Declaration only shews, that our ministers have been amused by Napoleon, while he was maturing his plans and preparations for a renewal of the war. As to Russia, it is now, I think, evident, that the treaty of D'Oubril was prevented from being ratified only in consequence of our interference; and, while I give no opinion about the morality of the refusal to ratify, I must commend the address by which it was caused. To treat in conjunction with other powers was our object, and that object France was resolved not to suffer to be accomplished.——The consequence has been war. War actually begun. A fourth coalition against France in good earnest entered upon; and, in all appearance, with as much probability of success as the last. Some of the newspapers assure their readers that the Prussians have retreated merely for the purpose of *leading the French into a snare!* But, surely, when those readers recollect, as they certainly must, that this same reason, by these same writers, was given for every retreat of the Austrians and Russians from the banks of the Schwartz, they will not again be

the dupes of these deluding or deluded men! "Into a snare!" Good God! Was it a snare that Napoleon fell into at Vienna? Was it a snare that he found in the conquered capital and kingdoms of his antagonist? And, is there another snare awaiting him at Berlin? Is the Duke of Brunswick, not less renowned than his Royal Nephew, really preparing a snare for Napoleon? No: let us not rest our hopes upon such a baseless foundation. Let us look for success in advances, and not in retreats. —— But, amongst all the discouraging circumstances which are visible in the outset of this war, there is one that I, and I believe, every Englishman that loves and honours his country, hails with joy: I allude to the announced *approaching departure of the Hanoverian regiments that are now in this kingdom*. My reasons for wishing to see this were stated in the foregoing sheet at page 553 and 554. To those reasons I could now add many others; but, being well assured, that they will readily suggest themselves to every English mind that is not totally debased, I shall, upon the present occasion, content myself with an expression of joy that the measure has been adopted, of sincere thanks towards those with whom it has originated, and of lively hope that it may never again be rendered necessary as long as England shall be called England. They are going! *Really*, I hope, going! And, success go with them! They are destined, perhaps, especially now that they have been disciplined by that skill, which has shone forth, accompanied with so much courage, in the wars which England has waged upon the continent; thus prepared, they are perhaps, destined to retrieve the lost fortunes of Europe; and, I do earnestly hope, that, seeing this glorious prospect is before them, we shall not be so selfish, so detestably vile, as to wish to retain one single whisker, or even a single hair of them in this country.

PARTIES.——It is rumoured, and in a way, also, that seems to prepare us for a confirmation, that *Mr. Windham* is about to resign, or to be turned out of (no matter which) his place; and, the reasons given in conversation are, first, that he is resolved not to remain in, unless General Craufurd be sent on the expedition, to the command of which he was appointed; and second, that the rest of the cabinet are glad to get rid of him on account of the unpopularity which, as the author of the measures *hostile to the volunteers* and the *militia*, he has brought, and is bringing upon them. Either of these reasons would be sufficient; the former for his voluntary and indignant resignation; and, the latter, for his place-loving colleagues to turn him out. But, with regard to his merit or demerit, what is there alledged against General Craufurd, that the appointment should be cancelled? He is so *young* an officer! Is *seniority*, then, the standard of promotion in our service? Of mere *brevet* promotion it is; but, are there not many men now commanding regiments that never served an hour in any other capacity? And as to the command of expeditions, or of divisions of the army at home, has the selection been made according to age, or to years of service? Every one will answer this question in the negative: for, an answer in the affirmative would be too notoriously false not to expose the answerer to contempt. But, General Craufurd has "*seen no service*." More, perhaps than any one general we have. He has, if I am not much misinformed, been in more battles, has seen more of the arrangement and the operations of large bodies of men in the field, and has, especially, seen more of the attack and defence of the French, than any general officer in the British service! But, the fact is, that the two alledged objections against Mr. Windham are closely connected; and, I am fully persuaded, that those *zealous* and *manly* gentlemen of the regular army, who are said to have made a strong remonstrance against the appointment of General Craufurd, would have been perfectly silent, had they not felt encouraged by the cry raised against him on account of the part which he took, as a member of parliament, with regard to the *Volunteers and the Militia*; if they had not felt encouraged by a cry against him for having (grateful gentlemen!) endeavoured to restore to them those honours, of which they and the rest of the army had been robbed! ——This stands in need of no further comment at the present.——That Mr. Windham should leave the cabinet, unsupported, as he now must be, by Mr. Fox, and, apparently, by Lord Fitzwilliam, no one can be surprized. But, though I can readily believe, that many of the present cabinet would be glad to have an opportunity of silencing their opponents by "reversing his righteous decrees," I can see another reason, and that a very powerful one too, why he will find it difficult to remain; and that is, that he is bound not to suffer the *inquiry with regard to Lord Wellesley to drop*; and, it is strongly presumed, that a great majority of the cabinet, not only wish that inquiry to fall into oblivion, but *to bring Lord Wellesley himself into the cabinet!*——Mr Windham did not, he could not, enter the cabinet, seeing the

company that he found there, with any other view, than that of sacrificing his own feelings for the sake of being able to serve the country by accomplishing that great wish of his heart, the forming an efficient, a cheap, and a safe military defence for these kingdoms. This wish has been frustrated. He has been hampered at every step. He has been thwarted in all his designs. His great and enlightened mind has been compelled to adopt and to foster the paltry, the miserable, conceptions of others, and to bend to the expedients of those, who valued their country as nothing in comparison with their place. The best thing he could have done was never to have joined in such a ministry; the next best would have been, to have quitted it long ago; and the next best is, to quit it now. The day will come, when the country must adopt such measures as he would have proposed for its adoption when he came into power; or, the country must fall beneath the arms of its enemy; and, against that day of trial he should treasure up the strength both of his body and his mind.——I would just observe, that, I have heard, and so frequently that I cannot help attaching some credit to the report, that General Craufurd is an opinionated, an ungracious, and even an ill-tempered, man; but, admitting this to be the case, these qualities, though not desirable, are not incompatible with great talents as a military commander; and, I do sincerely believe, that it is *envy*, more than any thing else, that has operated to his prejudice.——Mr. Windham himself has, I allow, his frailties, as well as other men; but, as far as I have ever been able to discover, he has less than any other public man I ever knew, or heard of; and, I am certain, that if every part of his conduct be fairly examined, by those who are qualified for the task, it will, upon the whole, be found to exhibit less of the bad and more of the good, than that of any man, in our day, who has been invested with office and with power, of which an inordinate fondness has been imputed to him, but of which I am sure it is not in his nature ever to have accepted, but from a desire to be instrumental in advancing the prosperity and the glory of his country. That he may hanker after power, and particularly the fame attendant upon power, I am not solicitous to deny; but, from a thorough knowledge of his character, I venture to assert, that, if there be a man, who would lay down his life for the salvation of England, that man is Mr. Windham.

Botley, October 24th, 1806.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE.

MY LORD,

It appearing to me necessary, under the present circumstances, to make known to the world some interesting facts, relating to that great public cause, which I have undertaken, in which I have so long and so earnestly laboured, and which, there is but too much reason to fear, may, at last, be defeated by that influence which will, in all probability, exclude me from the ensuing parliament, I have chosen, as the mode of address at once most agreeable to my feelings and most likely to obtain attention to my statement, the form of a letter to your Lordship, without the aid of whose sound judgment and unshaken integrity I never should have been able to carry those points, by which alone, a national interest was excited with respect to the conduct of Lord Wellesley; and, as to the channel, through which to make this statement, I have selected the Political Register, because, generally speaking, it is the only channel that remains untainted by corruption of one sort or another, and because, with regard to all subjects of great national importance, and particularly with regard to the subject immediately before us, it is the only publication, that I have yet seen or heard of, wherein men expect to meet with authenticity of statement and impartiality of insertion.

Having, during a several years residence in India, been an eye witness of many of those acts of Lord Wellesley, which have recently been developed to the nation, having formed a resolution to make them the subject of legal investigation, and knowing that for such an investigation the House of Commons was the only place that afforded a rational hope of success, I did, upon my return to England, in the latter part of 1804, take measures for obtaining a seat in that assembly; an object, which was accomplished in the ensuing June, on the 8th of which month, I took my seat in the House as one of the members for Newtown in the Isle of Wight. Besides the success of the great purpose of my mind, other motives led me cordially to co-operate with the opponents of the then Minister, whose principles I had always disliked as much as I had admired those of Mr. Fox; and, as I had, before my last departure from England, been honoured with very particular marks of the condescension and kindness of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, I naturally, and, I confess, with great pride, considered myself as belonging to his party, and that I did so consider myself gave, as I could

clearly prove, no small degree of satisfaction to his Royal Highness, to whom all my intentions with regard to Lord Wellesley were fully and freely communicated previously to my coming into parliament, and by whom I understood they were not less unreservedly approved of. In a very few days after I had taken my seat, I moved, as your Lordship will recollect, for the production of those papers, which, for the pretended reasons so well exposed by yourself, were not produced until the month of February last. My motions, upon that occasion, were seconded by that great and upright statesman Mr. Windham; and many days had not subsequently elapsed, when the Prince of Wales, at a visit made at Carlton House, took occasion to express his entire satisfaction at my conduct, and in a manner, which, as your Lordship will perceive by a detailed relation of it, was eminently calculated to add to my zeal and perseverance in the mighty task, which, seeing no other man willing to undertake, I had ventured to impose upon myself. "You have," said His Royal Highness to me, "opened a battery against the Marquis." "A powerful one," said Colonel M'Mahon, who, with Mr. Day, were present at the conversation. "His conduct in Oude," added the Prince, "has been truly shocking. I have had "much conversation with my young friend "Treves on the subject, who gave me the "poor Nabob's picture. I trust the battery "will not be silenced, next sessions, as some "Indian batteries have been." His Royal Highness also stated, that a few days before, at Sir John Throckmorton's, he had conversed fully on the subject, with Mr. Windham, and congratulated me, and the cause I had espoused, on the aid of a gentleman of such inflexible integrity and unbounded talents, on whom I might confidently rely. Delighted with sentiments so patriotic and just, and with expressions of such warm approbation from the Prince, I assured His Royal Highness, that he might safely rely on my perseverance, and that he would have only to regret, that my talents were altogether unequal to my zeal. This conversation took place in July, 1805, just after the prorogation of parliament. On the 17th of the ensuing month of September, when a general expectation of an immediate dissolution of parliament was entertained, Colonel M'Mahon requested me, and, as he informed me, at the particular instance of the Prince, to endeavour to ascertain upon what ground I myself should, in case of a dissolution, stand with regard to my then seat in parliament, as it was by all means desirable to secure for the party as many seats as possible. I reported, on the 20th of the same month, an unfavourable answer; and, in consequence thereof, Colonel M'Mahon, on the 24th, explicitly assured me, in the name of the Prince, that, if a dissolution should take place then, or, at any period before the natural demise of the parliament, I should be so placed, as to a seat, as to leave me no reason to regret, that I had, without attending to personal considerations, entered parliament, at a most critical epoch. The rumour of a dissolution being again current early in January last, the same assurance was not only repeated, but a particular borough in Cornwall, was named by Colonel M'Mahon, who added, that the Prince of Wales, with his own hand, had inserted my name, a few evenings before, together with those of the Honourable Mr. Lamb, Sir John Shelley, and others as intended to be returned for the "favoured boroughs."

Thus, my Lord, stood matters, early in January and previous to the death of Mr. Pitt, as to the continuance of my place in the House of Commons, which continuance was all-important to a person, whose first object was to prosecute an undertaking, which would necessarily require several sessions to bring it to an useful conclusion. To the lively hope, derived from these repeated assurances from such a quarter, was added that which was given me by several gentlemen, who had just left Brighthelmstone, and who informed me, that my cause had been the subject of much conversation at the Pavillion, and that I might depend upon the hearty support of almost the whole of the Fox-Party, but particularly of every one connected with Carlton-House. But, my Lord, men were not then prepared for the events, which the death of Mr. Pitt was preparing for our astonishment, our sorrow, and our subsequent indignation! They were not prepared to see a new ministry formed upon such terms, and composed of such materials. They were not prepared for seeing the spirit of Mr. Pitt prevail, and even with increased influence, after death had silenced his delusive voice, and the tomb had received his earthly remains. They were not prepared to behold the exaltation, the all-controling predominance, of talentless pride, and the silent and submissive acquiescence of those men, and of that man in particular, to whom so many of us had always looked up as an example of high spirit and of just and humane sentiments. Scarcely had the change of ministry been talked of, when, in pur-

suing my undertaking, full of the hopes of that support which had been so firmly promised; I soon found that all those promises were gone to the winds, and that with a few most honourable exceptions, the House was resolved to leave me solely to contend against all the influence and all the arrogance of unbridled power. With the exception of yourself, my Lord, of Mr. Windham, Doctor Laurence, Lord Ossulston, the Marquis of Douglas, Lord Archibald Hamilton, Mr. Martin of Galway, Mr. Martin of Tewkesbury, Sir John Wrottesley, Sir William Geary, and Mr. William Smith, who seemed to despise power in the pursuit of justice, and who, the more to their honour, were, only one or two of them, engaged by any previous promise, either express or implied; with these exceptions, I met not, in a single man, with cordial and disinterested support, though, in several, I occasionally met with support dictated by party or personal motives.

It was not, however, until the 27th of January, that I received a full demonstration of the effects of the changes then actually taking place. On that day, when I had, agreeably to notice, several motions to make in the House of Commons, relative to Lord Wellesley, I was requested by Colonel M'Mahon, in writing, and, as he stated, by command of the Prince of Wales, to attend at Carlton-House, between two and three o'clock. On my arrival, I found the Duke of Bedford in audience with the Prince, and the Duke of Norfolk waiting for the same purpose; and, as I was obliged to be in the House by four o'clock, Colonel M'Mahon communicated to me the wishes of the Prince, which were (for I immediately made a minute of the conversation) "that the new ministry being almost formed, Lord Grenville had been at Carlton-House, and had spoken particularly upon the subject of Lord Wellesley; that the Prince, in consequence, wished me to to give up all further proceedings against him; that he had seen with particular regret the notices which I had given for that day; that, at all events, it would be prudent for myself, and pleasing to the Prince and the greater part of the new ministry, for me to lay upon my oars, at present, as Mr. Francis, Mr. Sheridan, and others, had done." My answer was, that it gave me exquisite pain to act contrary to the wishes of the Prince of Wales, but that, seeing that to obey those wishes, as thus communicated to me, would be to abandon the cause of justice and to ruin my own character for ever in the eyes of all honest and honourable men, I was compelled to pursue the line of conduct which I had traced out for myself; and, accordingly, I proceeded to the House of Commons, where I made my promised motions, which you, my Lord, did me the honour to second, and for which support I have only to hope, that, sooner or later, your country will feel as deep a sense of gratitude as that which will ever remain in my own breast.

The next day, having in the mean while, received an expression of regret through Col. M'Mahon, I wrote to Mr. Fox, fully describing the path from which I was resolved never to depart; I depicted the measures and the conduct of Lord Wellesley; I reminded him of the principles which I had imbibed from himself; and I besought him, in a tone the most urgent, and yet the most respectful, to spare me the sorrow, and all his admirers the mortification of being compelled, by any connivance of his at an attempt to screen Lord Wellesley, to think differently of him, who had ever been the object of my esteem and veneration. In answer to this letter, I received a note referring the matter to a personal interview; which interview, after a subsequent appointment, took place in February, when he, with his usual frankness, told me that, "As "Mr. Sheridan had given up the prosecu- "tion of the conduct of Lord Wellesley in "the Carnatic, and as Mr. Francis had, in- "like manner, given up his proposed in- "quiry into the affairs of the Mahrattahs, "he had much wished, on account of "Lord Grenville, who had resolved to stand "by Lord Wellesley, that further proceed- "ings, on my part also, could have been "given up with honour; that my letter, "however, had destroyed all hope of that "sort; that, such being the case, and know- "ing, as he did, of the intended Dispatch "of the Court of Directors, he would coun- "tenance a fair investigation, but would, "however, pledge himself to no specific "step to be taken therein; that, though he "would attend in his place, he would not "sound a trumpet in any intermediate "stage of the discussions, but that, when "the question was fairly brought before "the House, he would conscientiously do "his duty. It has," added he, "been "suggested to us," (the Ministers) "to "withdraw, or to keep away, when the dis- "cussions upon this subject are to come on; "and some of us have been inclined to do "so; but, for my part, *I cannot and will "not do that.*" Mr. Fox did, accordingly,

attend; but, as your Lordship must remember, neither he nor any other person, yourself and the above-named gentleman excepted, gave me any support whatever, in a contest against all the power and all the influence of both the late and the present ministry, who, though sometimes excessively bitter against each other, never failed cordially to unite and co-operate against every step leading to an investigation into the conduct of Lord Wellesley.

Nevertheless, in spite of this combination, such an one, I believe, as scarcely any single individual ever before ventured to contend with; certain points were carried, much interesting information was obtained, a good deal of exposure was effected, numerous facts never intended to see the light were rendered familiar to the public, articles of impeachment were produced, grounded upon those facts, and the ministry were not bold enough to stifle them by a marshalled majority, brought down by Lord Temple and the brothers of Lord Wellesley. Those articles remained upon the records of the House; and, it was easy to foresee, that, at the opening of a new session, not a moment would be lost by me, in reviving the discussions, and in reducing the House to the necessity of *voting an impeachment, or a censure* at least; or, of declaring in the face of the nation, of Europe in general, and of that enemy whom we are daily reproaching with acts of wanton aggression and tyranny, that the conduct of Lord Wellesley towards the Nabob and the country of Oude, as well as towards the other Princes and states of Hindostan, *was such as the government of England approved of;* a dilemma not a little embarrassing, and yet not to be got rid of completely, except by a Dissolution of Parliament, which, as your Lordship is well aware, puts, at once, an end to all the proceedings with respect to Lord Wellesley, and for ever extinguishes all the accusations against him, unless I, or some other person be in the Parliament, and have the zeal and the perseverance again to begin anew, and to prosecute the arduous undertaking. I am not supposing, that this was the sole motive of the dissolution which is now about to take place; but that it was one of the motives, and that a principal one, I can, when all the circumstances are considered, have very little doubt. Aware of the consequences of a dissolution with regard to the proceedings against Lord Wellesley, I lost no time, upon the rumour which first became current about two months ago, in endeavouring to ascertain the disposition of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, as to his before-mentioned promise of a seat, in case of a dissolution before the natural demise of the Parliament. But this application, my Lord, was not made with the expectation of insuring a return through the influence of the Prince of Wales, for a "favoured Borough," (which, at the same time, is no free gift): I knew I had sinned past forgiveness. I had rejected the overtures of the 27th and 28th of January. I had aided Mr. Robson in his inquiries into the Abuses in the Barrack Department. I had spoken against the new Commissioners Bill, and I had concurred with Mr. Francis in the propriety of not exempting foreign property (and consequently the king's) from the Income Tax: yet, still I was willing to learn the situation in which I stood, and whether I was actually to be opposed, where I had promises of support: whether, in fact, those whose countenance I had once experienced in the prosecution of Lord Wellesley, and who found it impossible to prevail upon me to relinquish that pursuit, would now join in a combination, to prevent my entering again into the House of Commons. Accordingly, on the 23d of August last, I wrote to Col. M'Mahon, reminding him of all the terms and circumstances of the promise as above-stated, and requesting a candid and an immediate answer. For four days an answer on the alleged want of authority was declined; on the fourth an answer was still declined, but the reason now given was, that the Prince (who was in town when my letter was received), was gone upon his tour to the North, which, as the Colonel informed me, would prevent me from receiving an answer for at least six weeks. On the 21st of September, having obtained unquestionable proof in the mean time that, so far from favouring my views, an opposition, wherever I should offer myself was, as far as practicable, to be made against me, in concert with the Treasury, I wrote again to Col. M'Mahon, for the last time, requesting that my application might be withdrawn; and, in my several subsequent exertions to obtain a seat, I have found obstacles even greater than those which my information, discouraging as it was, taught me to expect; so that, with the faint prospect of success, which in the present spiritless state of the country, a popular contest would afford, and considering that it is a seat, and not an unsuccessful contest, that can further the cause that I have chiefly at heart, I am constrained to fear, that, for the present I shall be deprived of the honour of par-

cipating, as far as my feeble powers would enable me, in the prosecution of that cause.

To this statement of facts, brief and unvarnished as it is, I shall, my Lord, add nothing by way of comment; and, your Lordship will, I am sure, perceive by the manner in which the statement has been made, that it would not have been made at all, had it not been absolutely necessary to the justification of my character, by accounting for my probable exclusion from the next parliament, and thereby silencing the calumniators, who have so often and so falsely ascribed my accusation of Lord Wellesley to personal and selfish motives, and who, had the above statement been with-held, would not have scrupled to insinuate, that my absence from parliament was the effect of some compromise, in which I had sought and obtained private advantage. But, a hundred times have I declared, and I now repeat the declaration, that, while I have life, I will not give up the cause I have undertaken until ample justice be obtained; and, those who imagine that this declaration is to be rendered useless by the effect of a state trick, are little able, I think, to judge of what time is likely to produce, and, certain I am, that they are totally unable to form a true estimate of my perseverance. I am yet young enough, and so is Lord Wellesley, to see other days, and a far other spirit animate the people of Great Britain; and, his Lordship may be assured, that unless death shall prematurely separate us for ever, we shall yet meet, in spite of all smothering attempts, before an unbought, an unsold, an uncorrupted, an uninfluenced, an unpaced, and an unpensioned tribunal.

But, my Lord, though all the efforts I shall be able to make may fail of insuring me a seat in the ensuing parliament, I am still sanguine enough to hope, that the integrity, the zeal, and the talents of your Lordship, and of others, who, from the same honourable motives, have taken a part in the maintenance of the cause, will render abortive all attempts to stifle inquiry and to disarm justice, with regard to the Affairs of India. To your Lordship, who is so well versed in the history of Lord Wellesley's administration, and who has so well considered all the effects of overrunning and plundering the states of that immense peninsula, it would be presumption in me to suggest any particular mode of pursuing a remedy; but, when you reflect, that the acts of aggression of Lord Wellesley have far surpassed those of that enemy, against whose violations of public law, we are endeavouring, and justly endeavouring, to excite the indignation and hostility of the world; when you reflect, that these aggressions have rendered the British name hateful in India, and have awakened, in Europe, a general suspicion of our professions and our views; when you reflect, that, while we are thus injured abroad by these flagrant violations of national right, we are, from the same cause, cruelly oppressed at home, the unjust wars and unnecessary expenditure of Lord Wellesley having already caused *four millions of pounds sterling* to be raised in taxes, upon the people of this country, and, in the present temper of the House of Commons, will, in all probability, cause from *twelve to twenty millions* more to be raised from the same source, insomuch that there will not be a labourer in the whole kingdom, whose hard-ships will not thereby be sensibly increased; when you thus reflect upon the enormous evils, which this system of Indian aggression and extravagance has brought, and is daily bringing in a still greater and greater degree, upon the affairs of this nation both abroad and at home, I am sure you will agree with me, that a speedy and an effectual remedy ought to be adopted; and, as I think, you must also concur in the opinion, that without a full and fair investigation as to the past, and without the infliction of due punishment, where such infliction shall be justly demanded, no remedy can possibly be effectual, so I am confidently persuaded, that, with the support, which you may safely rely on, and with the good wishes of all the just thinking amongst mankind on your side, you will never desist from the pursuit, until, in this great cause, ample justice has been obtained. In this persuasion as to the future, and with a deep sense of public gratitude for your past exertions,

I have the honor to remain,
My Lord,
Your Lordships most obedient,
and most humble servant,
JAMES PAULL.

Charles Street, St. James's Square,
October 20th, 1806.

MR. SHERIDAN.

——Hac mente laborem
Sesse ferre, senes ut in otia tuta recedant,
Aiunt, *cum tibi sint congesta cibaria.* *Hor. Sat.* 1. v. 30.

Sir,——The late conduct of Mr. Sheridan in respect to the election for the city of Westminster has excited, as far as my opportunities of observation extend, a general and great sensation; and your animadversions on

the subject, some of the severest and most disgracing, but certainly best merited, censure that was ever inflicted on political profligacy, have been read every where with lively satisfaction. The proceedings, however, of this person in this affair, are an inexhaustible source of indignation and contempt; and there is one part, in a constitutional view highly interesting, to which I am desirous of drawing the attention of my countrymen still further.——What I refer to is the train of argument adopted by this long professing advocate of popular rights, in his extraordinary speech at the Crown and Anchor. As an orator he is not usually deficient in ingenuity, and, it is therefore worthy of remark, that his reasoning on this occasion was as feeble, and even stupid, as unconstitutional. With its feebleness I have no concern, except as evidence that the measures which it endeavoured to defend were incapable of rational justification: but its comprehensive hostility against the principles of popular election, and the subversion of the democratic, the most valuable, member of our government, which is involved in the prevalence of these doctrines, are concerns which affect immediately every Englishman, and which, thus originating, demand especially the regard of every elector of Westminster and Stafford.—The reasons assigned by the Treasurer of the Navy for renouncing his opposition against Lord Percy, were simply these: first, that the preference of Mr. Fox himself in the choice of a successor, would have fallen on this heir of the House of Northumberland; and, secondly, that during the solemnity of Mr. Fox's interment, "*the disgusting contest of an election wrangle*" would be unbecoming; and, caused by Mr. Sheridan, would be unbecoming in a peculiar degree.—In respect to the former of these reasons, I would ask, in the first place, how it is ascertained that such was the preference of Mr. Fox? The mere assertion of men obviously interested, who have shewn themselves capable of abandoning, in pursuit of their interest, all political principle, can have no weight either to prove or to disprove any thing. What then are those pretensions of Lord Percy, which as a popular representative could remind him to Mr. Fox with distinguished preference? Tried integrity, and talents cultivated by long experience in men and affairs? The name of Lord Percy, except as heir to the Dukedom of Northumberland, is unknown; such is his youth that, even in our constitution which admits senators at a lower age than almost any other, he is scarcely eligible; and a less experienced man could not be selected throughout the three kingdoms. Is he attached in any remarkable manner, or by any powerful cause, to the democratic branch of our government, which it will be his duty to corroborate? On the contrary, he is bound in the strongest ties, at once by birth and by education, by connection and by hope, to the aristocratic establishment; and must feel at all times the most decided determination to support the aristocracy, of which he is to be permanently a member, against the democracy with which his connection is as transient and disdainful, as it is unnatural and violent. With public sacrifices, which either merit popular gratitude, or contain some pledge for the future zeal of a candidate, he has no relation even the most remote; and the feebleness and littleness of what he has said and done during his election, evince that he has no capacity for these. What then are his recommendations? A disposition, say his advocates, and personal character, as far as it is yet known, of considerable worth, and a descent from noble ancestors, the friends of popular liberty. To such commendation, Mr. Pitt, I believe, had as strong pretensions as most men; and he, I think, may suffice for teaching us how to estimate the certainty of such scales of computation: but love of freedom in a noble family is obvious hypocrisy; an hereditary nobleman is the necessary antagonist of popular independence, and all his professions to the contrary are fulsome fictions resorted to for the despicable purposes of court intrigue. The recommendations, then, of Lord Percy amount shortly to these: his family has possessed great borough influence during former parliaments, and during future it will probably possess the same, (the present parliament of course is perfectly pure); and this family is willing to associate in political concord with the existing administration.—Such then are the recommendations which, according to the statements of Mr. Sheridan and his party, have engaged from Mr Fox a decided preference above every other competitor, and particularly above his most intimate associate in a long professed advocacy of the cause of the people. If we believe these statements, either the whole life of Mr. Fox had been meanly and basely hypocritical, or his attainment of power had wrought an intire change in his principles. Whether or not they are to be believed, I leave to others to determine: but, whatever their foundation, these public men, so ostentatious of attachment to Mr. Fox have, for their own sordid purposes, betrayed his

reputation and memory. If false, they have profligately invented, if true, have treacherously published, a tale which confounds their friend with the wretched herd of court tools and placemen, or condemns him to the deeper disgrace, if deeper disgrace there be, of thirty years and upwards of systematic artifice and fraud. And the man who may boast the glory of first suggesting this tale, is he whose delicate sympathy is too much interested about the corpse of his friend, to endure the idea of its being interred amidst "*the contest of an election wrangle*." Here is, indeed, in unsophisticated theatrical pathos, the genuine manager of a playhouse: the pageantry of funeral is to him a sacred object, but the reputation, the permanent fame, the place in the affections of his countrymen, and in the future reverence of history, that are to belong to the deceased, are insignificant trifles which the enthusiasm of friendship may sacrifice without scruple to the maintenance of a situation in power, which, thus maintained, includes every thing that a manly mind might disdain and revolt against.—Considerations however of this nature, refer merely to the personal characters of a few public men who have manifested themselves unworthy of public regard. It is in a more important view that I contemplate the argument. It involves that doctrine of ministerial controul over the freedom of election, which seems now to be forming rapidly into a system of the government, and which, whenever it shall have superseded the independent choice of electors, will have annihilated all that remains of free and honourable and elevated and secure in the nation. Mr. Fox would have preferred Lord Percy! Assuming, for argument, that Mr. Fox is that noble character which his friends are perpetually asserting that he was, and are perpetually contributing to convince us that he assuredly was not, is the dictation of Mr. Fox to decide, or the general voice of the electors of Westminster? Lord Percy is yet a boy, utterly characterless and unknown to any; allied by birth to the second, or aristocratical, estate of the constitution, and by ministerial connection to the first or regal, both of which it is the chief purpose and most important utility of the House of Commons strictly to controul. The electors resolve unanimously that this is is an unfit person to represent their city; but Mr. Fox has preferred him. Individual is nominated after individual, the ranks of professing patriotism are ransacked, but the dictation of Mr. Fox is as sacred as his funeral, not a public character will accept a nomination which opposes it, and Lord Percy represents these electors. When Rome had fallen under a military despotism, her Emperors appointed the successor to their vacant royalty; and in the year 1800, a representative of the British people, being also a minister of the crown, nominates even from his grave, the heir to his place in parliament. An election assumes by degrees the placid form of a testamentary devise, and the blood of nobility, in anticipation of its future inheritance, and under the sanction of eloquent executors to the last commands of a dying Secretary of State, lisps its infant periods of ministerial eulogy to the speaker. A new Mark Anthony divulges the will of a British Cæsar, and, in the House of Commons "*the honourable gentleman*" becomes an antiquated title; the benches are crowded with "*noble lords*," and the third estate in the government of England is to consist in due time of an assemblage of ministers in power, surrounded by peers and placemen in expectation.—But to deliver a particular decree of his departed friend which disfranchises merely the electors of Westminster, and that in one instance alone, is too moderate a zeal for the Treasurer of the Navy: a sweeping condemnation must be pronounced, and the electoral office must be consigned in universality to general contempt and aversion. The exercise of this great privilege, the highest department of constitutional sovereignty, and the necessary basis of national independence, is branded with the opprobrious name of an "*election wrangle*;" and the noble ardour of a people struggling in support of their rights against ministerial influence, and aristocratic usurpation, is vilified as a "*disgusting contest*." The principles of popular freedom are to be undermined in their very metropolis, in the honourable pride and active energy of the elector's feelings; and to resist with independent disdain the mandate of a minister's ministerial colleague, to maintain in being, privileges for the confirmation of which an illustrious ancestry were proud to die, to be true to our progenitors and to our posterity, virtues the loftiest that can dignify a nation, are to be stigmatized as vulgar, and, as far as eloquence can operate, to be shamed out of Britain. Such is the public act of a man who affects to have devoted his life to popular liberty; such is almost his only public act, since he acquired the place of a minister. The rest of his valuable time is devoted to excursions to Greenwich, and to the official pomp of entertainments and dances. He can steal from these illustrious engagements

only one short space to inform electors who have proposed to return him, that their franchise is a vulgar "*wrangle*," and its exercise a "*disgusting contest.*" The cringing compliances of yielding meanness, the insipid smile of contented slavery are to him the contrast to disgust, and he implores from his countrymen to spare him the mortification of national manliness. As the manager of a British theatre, he dared not have admitted on his stage sentiments so revolting to the history of Englishmen; but as a representative of the people, and as a minister of state, he makes an opportunity of delivering them in one of the most public assemblies of the metropolis, and employs his best eloquence to recommend and circulate the poison.——If we could turn from these public reflections, and from the emotions of indignation, to mere personal affairs and the follies of absurdity, the argument of this ministerial orator might be worth notice as a specimen of reasoning. The grounds which he has assumed in deprecation of an election contest are, if they are any thing, strong arguments for engaging in it with vigour. The last representative, it is said, was a sincere advocate of popular independence, and his interment would take place during the period of such a contest. To such a man, then, can there be more congenial obsequies than public manifestations of popular manliness, and the intrepid exercise of that independence of his constituents, which it was the alledged business of his life to confirm? Could his remains be conscious to the honours of funeral, what solemnities would he witness preferably to the conspicuous independence of those whom it was his living labour to maintain in independence, and to the active and energetic freedom of the freemen whom he loved to inspire? No. At such a time the active freedom of his constituents would be a disgusting indecency; "*it is fitting*" that they become a mere undertaker's retinue, "marshalled in mute sorrow;" and the common formalities which all can hire, the parade of pageantry, amidst a silent metropolis, represented by the man whom it has publicly resolved to be unfit to represent it, these are the glories recommended for his interment: his hearse is to pass in pomp, through the stillness of political desolation and despair. While such is the last scene of the deceased, the contemporary occupation of his ancient associates is congruous. His nearest friend is solicited to maintain that electoral spirit and popular boldness, in which the departed representative is said to have been sincerely interested; he is earnestly invited to continue and corroborate this from the same hustings whence the colleague whom he professes to lament had roused it so conspicuously: but he prefers superintending the funeral ceremonies. On that day the popular candidate he might have been: the parade colonel of a corps of tax dependents he is. The first course would have commemorated his dead friend with honour, with lustre to himself, and benefit to his country; the last is a despised absurdity pernicious and disgraceful to all: but the one would have hazarded, perhaps have sacrificed, the gay conveniencies of place, the other secures them.——I have heard it reported in political circles, that Mr. Sheridan, having now properly withdrawn himself from the electors of Westminster, will be nominated as their representative at the ensuing general election. The incomparable Lord Percy still remaining one member for the city, Mr. Sheridan is to take the place of Lord Gardner: and, at the same time Sheridan, junior is to console the electors of Stafford. These, I understand, are the ministerial arrangements; and here appears the *quid pro quo* among the high contracting parties during the late vacancy. The electors of Westminster will at length be gratified; the intrepid Sheridan will have obtained leave to offer himself, and they to return him: while the not less favoured inhabitants of Stafford will possess a new boast, equally conspicuous, no doubt, in eloquence of profession, equally superior in the pageantries of friendship; and, after a short course of attentive experience, not less illustrious in the splendours of official gaiety. Such are the blessings of a truly paternal administration. Like ignorant children, the silly people demanded an untimely representative; restrained in their inconvenient desires, the just measure of gratification will be doled out to them at the expedient period, they will "receive their meat in due season;" and our polished and tranquil nation will return the general body of its parliament safe from the "*disgusting contests of an election wrangle.*" Heaven forbid that popular vulgarity should mar these refined arrangements, by the indignant rejection of court puppets, and court commands, and by constitutional independence of vote!——BRUTUS——*Oct. 13, 1806.*

COUNTY-CLUBS.

"It is only, gentlemen, in the County "of Middlesex, and very few others, and "in still fewer cities and towns, where "there are any remains of true popular in-

" dependence in the choice of representa-
" tives: and even in Middlesex, the most
" independent of them all; we know but
" too well the weight of the undue in-
" fluences which are exerted to degrade the
" county into the condition of a court-bo-
" rough; and we likewise know the
" strength of the existing combination
" against our freedom; and these demand
" from us vigilance, UNION, and energy. So
" *uniting* and so exerting ourselves, we can
" have no doubt of triumphant success; but
" should we continue a rope of sand, and
" supinely desert the *duty of conjointly de-*
" *fending the freedom of our elections*, Mid-
" dlesex would most assuredly sink into the
" ignominious condition of a Midhurst, a
" Gatton, or an Old Sarum."——Major Cartwright in his address on the first meeting of the Middlesex Club.

SIR,——Some gentlemen of the independent interest, who took an active part in the last contest for the representation of Middlesex, and who then witnessed with deep regret the lavish expenditure chiefly occasioned by a neglect of previous arrangement, and by a want of concert among the supporters of the popular cause, which deplorably counteracted the ardent zeal manifested at that election, to prevent a recurrence of the same difficulties, determined on forming A FREEHOLDER'S CLUB. They accordingly spoke on the subject to their acquaintances, and after a certain number of freeholders had agreed to the measure, they met: when it was resolved, that every one present should each give in the names of two more freeholders, who with the then meeting should associate themselves to guard the Freedom of their Elections, and to preserve the Independency of the County. A committee was appointed to frame regulations as to the mode of admission of members in future, and to draw up what other Rules were requisite for the general purposes of the association. The propriety of such a Club has been acknowledged very generally, and it now consists of (I believe) nearly three hundred, and is rapidly increasing in numbers. Full thirty were ballotted into it at one of their meetings in the last spring. I select and subjoin for your highly valuable publication, some of their regulations; with the hope, that a knowledge of the success in Middlesex, may incite other counties and large elective bodies to institute similar clubs. Associations, Sir, of this description offer the only resource now left to the people of opposing with any (the slightest) effect the colossal influence of government, and its hosts of retainers. Thus to concentrate what in these disastrous times remains of independency among us, can be objected to by no man who feels the enormous demands made by parliament on his property, session after session, or, who has the liberties of England at heart. It might procure to us a few trustworthy representatives, who, unshackled by party attachments of any sort, would by their motions lay bare to the public eye the actual management of our national concerns. Mr. Robson's treatment in his very laudable inquiries into the rank abuses prevailing through the Barrack Department is fresh in the minds of all, and affords a melancholy proof that a gentleman who means to do the public a service by an exposure of any waste of their money, must when in the Commons' House look neither to the right nor to the left: at the same time, this " our experience both late and sad," to borrow Milton's phrase, is a practical demonstration of the incalculable utility to the country, if we could obtain a few more members actuated in their parliamentary conduct by the same honourable principle. But the benefits which would accrue by such a regulated effort of public spirit as I suggest are immerable. With the popular strength embodied in this manner, no county could ever be harrassed with a poll of fifteen days continuance; nor a popular candidate by that means be again fined twenty-thousand pounds for his patriotism. However sharp the struggle between the conflicting interests, the promptitude of co-operation which would result from an arranged plan, among men who are voluntarily enrolled together for the same end, would insure a speedy close to the contest; unquestionably a consummation devoutly to be wished by all sides in popular elections, as they are at present conducted.—The Independency of a County would in another view be maintained wherever such a club is established; I mean it would assuredly set the political opinions of the county at large, above the controul of two or three of the nobility, who may happen to reside in it; to which vassalage too many counties tamely submit, who if they were true to themselves, might vindicate their own consequence with ease. For instance, had a club of such friends of the constitution existed in Staffordshire, we may safely pronounce that the Lords connected with that opulent county, would not have settled it in London among themselves, and *declared* openly that Staffordshire should not meet to consider the question of Lord Melville's guilt! Very many are the conjunc-

tures where a Club of Electors, though not strong enough to carry a seat in parliament, would not be associated in vain: *conferre injurias, et interpretando accendere.* Whenever any expression of the general voice was called for on public questions, they would necessarily have great weight. No doubt, you are aware, Mr. Cobbett, that the members for Hampshire, saw cause after the meeting at Winchester, to vote on the affair of the lord I have just mentioned, in contradiction to the votes they had before given. In the same manner, and on the same occasion, after a respectable proportion of their constituents had made known their sentiments, a new light broke in upon the members for Essex, and other shires. How important then, to have men who act systematically together on the alert, to take the lead in like emergencies.——These are among the advantages to be derived by the people from associations of electors, wherever they possess sufficient public spirit to follow the example of Middlesex. I refrain from pointing out any more of them, at least for the present, lest I should trespass too far on the columns of your Register.——I am, Sir, yours, &c.—A FRIEND TO FREE ELECTIONS.

Acton, August 20, 1806.

Extracts from the Regulations of the MIDDLESEX CLUB.

There is at all times to exist an annual committee of eleven members, five of which make a quorum.——The committee is to be provided with a plan for canvassing the county in convenient subdivisions, and to register all instances of promises, threats, bribes, &c. tending to corrupt the freedom of election.——The club to hold three regular general meetings every year, when they dine together.—— Extraordinary general meetings may be convened when a majority of the committee judge it expedient.—Every candidate for admission to the club must be proposed and seconded in a general or committee meeting, and be balloted for at the next general meeting.——In the circular summons for convening the club, the names, professions, and places of abode of all persons to be balloted for, are to be inserted with the names of those who propose and second.——Each member, on signing the regulations at his admission, is to pay one guinea to the treasurer, which includes his first year's subscription; and for each subsequent year he is to pay half a guinea.——After the business of the club shall be finished, each member may introduce with dining tickets as visitors, any freeholders of the county who have never before dined with the club, not exceeding three in number.

"DELICATE INVESTIGATION."

SIR,—Having just seen your last week's Register, in which I find you have taken no notice of a paragraph in the Morning Post of the 1st inst. addressed to "Jack Cade," I conclude, that you have considered it as too contemptible and ridiculous for reply. I cannot, however, refrain from offering you a few remarks upon this defence, so perfectly original in its manner, and so preposterous in its *effect*.—First, says this lusus naturæ of wisdom, "any one but Jack Cade would "see that the fact of two barristers (one of "whom is intimately connected with the "ministry) being employed *at the desire* of "the Princess of Wales, *to prepare the re-*"*port for publication*, is a very *different* "thing from their being employed by her "to *garble* the report." And, again, "they "are engaged to *prepare* the proceedings "before the commissioners for the *public* "*eye*;" for, says he, "the examination "of a charge of such *vague* latitude, as that "of a *general impropriety* of conduct, "much of *minute particulars* may be given "in *evidence*, which would be *disgusting to* "*the public and unfair* towards the illus-"trious individual accused, when NO CRI-"MINAL RESULT WAS ESTABLISHED."—— Now, in the name of all that is rational, what is the inference that *must* be drawn from this? He sets out with denying that the report will be "garbled," and he ends with an *apprehension*, that were all the *minute* particulars which were given in *evidence* to be laid before the public, they would be not only *disgusting*, but *unfair* to the party accused. So, then, he admits a report is to appear, with many of the *minute particulars in evidence*, SUPPRESSED; but "*not gar-*"*bled*." Oh, no.—Garbled.—A couple of big wigs *eminently* stuffed with law are to ABRIDGE it for publication.—*Abridge* it, not *garble* it, Mr. Cobbett—are to favour the public with the inspection of *part* of the evidence. And why only *part*? Because, if the *whole* were given, it would "disgust" the public, it would be "unfair" to the party accused; and, wherefore would it "dis-"gust?" Whence the "unfairness?" Can any evidence respecting the innocence and virtue of a Princess prove disgusting? Can the publication of evidence ever prove "unfair?" But, remember, he *assures* us that "no *criminal* result has been establish-"ed." Perhaps not; but might he not allow us to judge for ourselves, who shall de-

termine if only *part* of the evidence is to be offered? Assuredly, give *none* or give the *whole*. And, though no *criminal* result be deduced, may not *much* IMPROPRIETY of conduct be established?——Again, says this mischievious advocate, "we understand that "the depositions of some of the principal "and most malicious" (as he chooses to call them) "of the witnesses, to be given in a "stile of grossness which could not in any "circumstance be published without offend- "ing decency; and which, after the *com- "plete* ACQUITTAL," of the illustrious des- "tined victim of such horrid malice, could "not without the utmost injustice as well "as the utmost indecency be published "about her." Now, was there ever so clumsy a defence as this? *Defence*, do I say? No, rather was there ever so calumniating a report, such injurious reflections, for, in my mind, it casts more suspicion upon the character, and conveys by far more gross insinuations upon the conduct of this "*il- "lustrsous* personage" than any which her bitterest enemy could have produced. And, if it really and *seriously* is intended for a defence, I shall only say with you "from such "defenders God send her a safe deliver- "ance." —— *Evidence* which cannot be published without *offending decency!* Evidence containing *minute* particulars that would be *disgusting! Depositions*, aye, and those too of the *principal witnesses*, containing such *grossness* as could not be given to the public without "the utmost INJUSTICE as well as "*indecency!*"——Heavens and earth! Are these the expressions applied to the *innocence* of a *modest and virtuous* Princess!!! Whence these "indecencies?" Whence this "grossness?" Whence these "minute "particulars that would create disgust?" (or, as you have well expressed it in page 395) "What! the language so gross and "disgusting as to be unfit to meet the eye "of decency! The language of evidence "too! What could these *filthy* witnesses "have to give *evidence of?* Tell us THAT "thou able advocate!"——Thus, it is admitted, that the depositions even of the principal witnesses are to be suppressed, to be withheld from the public, or what is worse, to be given only in part. But the report is not to be *garbled!* No! that is not the right phrase, Mr. Cobbett, it is not to be *garbled* but only *manufactured*, manufactured for the public eye, by eminent barristers!!! However, he does say, "when the "publication is made, as we hope it will "*soon* be, he" (Jack Cade) "will know to "whom to apply for *such part* of it as *may* "*be omitted.*" So, it seems we are to have a *peep* at it *somewhere*. O judicious garblers! With how good a grace will it meet the *public* eye at last! For if it is to be *peeped* at, to the *public it will come*.——O, wisest of the wise inhabitants of Grub Street! O judicious advocate! O noble defender! Well mightest thou rival even the renowned Don Quixotte de la Mancha, and descending from thy lofty garret, become the rightor of all wrongs, the redresser of all grievances, in honour of thy peerless Princess, the high born and illustrious Dulcinea Del Toboso!——But, indeed, Mr Cobbett, I cannot yet bring myself to believe that all this is *seriously* intended for a *justification*. No, it is absolutely impossible. It never was meant as a defence. And, until I am assured, that the writer really is the most sovereign fool, of all that swarm of fools and vermin which fertile Grub Street has yet produced, I shall continue to believe that you and he apparently are adversaries, yet, in fact, that you both aim at the same point, and both have the same object in view, namely, a true publication of the whole report. He, to be sure, has chosen an infinitely more cunning and crafty mode of obtaining his purpose than you; though, indeed, I do believe he has hit upon the most effectual. Do but observe, it in this point of view, and I am sure you and every one else will be convinced that he can have no other intention; for under the specious mask of defence has he veiled accusation; but has industriously covered it with so thin a veil, that he has the satisfaction of observing that every one sees through it; or, at least, that they see just enough to make them pant to see more. And by thus disguising himself under the cloak of a defender, he raises and excites curiosity to the highest pitch, by giving hints of indecencies that must shock modesty, and of grossness that would create disgust: all of which must be carefully *concealed* from the public eye; for, says he, you know that the "acquittal is already public and uncon- "tradicted," therefore, why should you wish to know more. And although the evidence does contain some gross indecencies and impurities, yet, surely the purity and innocence of the illustrious personage can never be doubted. O thou unreasonable public! wherefore shouldst thou seek to know whence these "indecencies could proceed," or upon what foundation the *nasty witnesses* had recourse to such *disgusting grossness!*——Hoping, therefore, Mr. Cobbett, that this explanation will no longer permit you to consider the writer in the

Morning Post as a friend to concealment; but that you will do him the justice to believe that a "full and genuine report," is as much his wish as it certainly is yours; so I shall conclude with hoping, that instead of considering him as an opponent, you will on the contrary greet him as a fellow labourer, most indefatigable in the cause of publicity, and that you will therefore act in concert together, by continuing to pursue this laudable purpose, though by different routs and with different weapons.——I have the honour to be, Sir, yours, ever,—A FRIEND TO PUBLICITY AND JUSTICE.——*Oct.* 13, 1806.

PUBLIC PAPER.

Declaration of the King of Great Britain. From the London Gazette, October 21, 1806.

The negociations in which his Majesty has been engaged with France, having terminated unsuccessfully, his Majesty thinks proper to make this public declaration to his subjects and to Europe, of the circumstances which have led to an issue which his Majesty deeply regrets. He has no object nearer to his heart, than the conclusion of a secure and permanent peace. He laments the continuance of a war, affecting the happiness of so many nations, and which, even amidst all the successes that attend his arms, is so burthensome to his faithful and affectionate people. But he is confident, that there can arise on this occasion no other sentiment, either in his own dominions, or in any part of Europe, than that of an increased conviction, that the restoration of general tranquillity is retarded only by the injustice and ambition of the enemy.—The French government, unsatisfied with its immense acquisitions on the continent, still openly perseveres in a system destructive of of the independence of every other power. War is pursued, not for security, but for conquest; and negociations for peace appear to be entered into for no other object, than that of deluding the neighbouring powers into a state of false security, while France is herself preparing, arranging, and executing her unremitted projects of encroachment and aggression.—Her conduct in the recent discussions has afforded but too many proofs of this disposition.—The negociation originated in an offer made by the French government of treating for peace on the basis of actual possession, which was stated to admit of mutual compensation; and a distinct assurance was added, that his Majesty's German dominions, which had been attacked without even the pretence of any cause of hostility, should be restored.—Such a proposal appeared to his Majesty to afford a just foundation for negociating: it was therefore accepted with this reserve, that the negociation should be conducted by his Majesty in concert with his allies.—No sooner had this basis been mutually admitted, than it was departed from by the enemy, and that too, in points of so great importance as to call for an immediate declaration on the part of his Majesty, that unless the principle proposed by France herself were adhered to, the communications which had been opened between the two governments must at once be closed. —This produced new professions of the dispositions of France, to make considerable sacrifices for the attainment of peace, if the discussions were suffered to proceed; at the same time, that a difficulty was started on account of the want of full powers in the person intrusted by his Majesty with this communication. Steps were thereupon taken by his Majesty for opening a regular negociation by ministers duly authorised, in order to ascertain, in a manner the most satisfactory and authentic, whether peace could be obtained on terms honourable to the King and his allies, and consistent with the general security of Europe.—During these proceedings, a minister sent by the Emperor of Russia to treat for the same important object, in concert with his Majesty's government, was induced by the artifices of the enemy, to sign a separate treaty, on terms equally repugnant to the honour and interests of his imperial Majesty. —Unmoved by this unexpected event, the King continued to negociate precisely on the same principles as before. He relied, with a confidence which experience has amply justified, on the good faith and steadiness of an ally, in concert with whom he had begun to treat, and whose interests he maintained with the same firmness as his own. The French Government, on the contrary, elated by this advantage, of which it boasted as equal in importance to the most decisive victory, departed in every conference more and more widely from its own offers and engagements. Not only did it take upon itself to change, at its own will, the basis of the Negociation with Great Britain, but violated, in points still more important, every principle of good faith with Russia. The chief inducement offered to that power, as the price of all the sacrifices extorted from her minister, had been the preservation of Germany. Yet, before the decision of Russia on this treaty could be

known, France had already annihilated the whole frame and constitution of the German Empire; had reduced under her own yoke a large proportion of the states and provinces of Germany; and not content with this open contempt of obligations so recently contracted, had, at the same time, instigated the Porte to measures directly subversive of her subsisting engagements with Russia.—While such a conduct was pursued towards His Majesty, towards his allies, and towards all independent powers, there appeared so little hope of any favourable issue to the negociation, that His Majesty's plenipotentiaries demanded their passports to return to England.—This demand was at first eluded by an unusual and unexplained delay, and the French government afterwards, by some material concession, accompanied with intimations that others of still greater consequence might be the result of further discussion, procured a renewal of the conferences, which were protracted from day to day, till at length it was announced at Paris, that the Emperor of Russia had indignantly rejected the unauthorised and separate treaty signed by his minister.—In consequence of this important event, the strongest assurances were given to His Majesty's minister, that France was now prepared to make sacrifices to a great extent, in order, by securing peace with Great Britain, to re-establish the tranquillity of the world. —The object of these assurances appeared however to be, that of engaging His Majesty in a separate negociation, to the exclusion of his allies: a proposal which His Majesty had rejected in the outset, and which he could still less admit of at a time when the conduct of Russia had imposed on him an increased obligation not to separate his interests from so faithful an ally. To these insiduous overtures, His Majesty steadily refused to listen; but he took the most effectual method to avoid all appearance of delay, and to accelerate, if possible, the favorable issue of the negociation. The confidential intercourse which he had constantly maintained with Russia, enabled His Majesty to specify the terms on which peace with that power might be obtained; and his minister was accordingly instructed to state to France, in addition to his own demands, those of his ally, to reduce them to distinct articles, and even to conclude on those grounds a provisional treaty, to take effect whenever Russia should signify her accession. —This form of negociating was, after some objection, acceded to by France; terms were now offered to His Majesty, more nearly approaching, than before, to the original basis of negociation; but these were still far short of what His Majesty had uniformly insisted on, and was now more than ever entitled to expect, and the decisive rejection of the just demands of Russia, as well as of the conditions proposed by His Majesty in behalf of his other allies, left to His Majesty no other course than that of ordering his minister to terminate the discussion, and return to England—The foregoing short and simple exposition of facts stands in need of no comment. The first overtures which led to negociation were made by the enemy, and they were accepted by His Majesty in the sincerest spirit of peace. Every opening which seemed to afford the most distant prospect of accomodation has been anxiously embraced, nor was the negociation finally broke off, while any hope of a favourable issue could be entertained. His Majesty's demands were uniformly just and reasonable; directed to no objects of personal aggrandizement, but to such only as were indispensably required by the honour of his crown, his engagements to his allies, and a due consideration of the general interests of Europe.—It is with heartfelt concern, that His Majesty contemplates the continuance of those evils always inseparable from a state of war; but it is with his enemies that this awful responsibility rests; and for the issue of the contest His Majesty trusts, with confidence, to the justice of his cause! to the resources and bravery of his people; to the fidelity of his allies; and, above all, to the protection and support of the Divine Providence' —In contributing to the great efforts which such a contest must unavoidably require, his faithful and affectionate subjects will not forget that all their dearest interests are at stake; that no sacrifices they can be called upon to make are to be compared with the certain disgrace and ruin of yielding to the injurious pretensions of the enemy; that with the inviolable maintenance of the good faith and public honour of their country, its prosperity, its strength, and its independence, are essentially connected; and that in asserting the rights, and upholding the dignity of the British Empire, they defend the most powerful bulwark of the liberties of mankind.

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